

Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /016 R

66607

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R 201828Z SEP 75

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY LISBON

S E C R E T STATE 225055

EXDIS

FOL REPEAT OF BONN 15265 TO SECSTATE SEP 17

QTE:

S E C R E T BONN 15265

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GW, US

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH WILLY BRANDT

REF: STATE 218735

1. I SAW WILLY BRANDT TODAY FOR A BRIEFING ON THE SEP-
TEMBER 5 MEETING IN LONDON OF THE SIX SOCIALIST PARTY
LEADERS (KREISKY, PALME, VAN DEN UYL, MITTERRAND,
WILSON AND BRANDT). THE LONDON SESSION OF THIS GROUP,
ACCORDING TO BRANDT, WAS A DIRECT OUTGROWTH OF DISCUS-
SIONS WHICH THE SAME PARTICIPANTS HAD HELD IN HELSINKI
AFTER THE CSCE SUMMIT. AT THAT TIME THEY HAD AGREED
THAT THE SITUATION IN PORTUGAL REQUIRED CONCERTED ACTION
BY THE SOCIALIST PARTIES OF WESTERN EUROPE TO PREVENT
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THE COUNTRY FROM BEING TAKEN OVER BY THE COMMUNISTS.
THE EMPHASIS OF THE LONDON MEETING HAD OF COURSE BEEN
SOMEWHAT OVERTAKEN BY THE RAPIDLY MOVING EVENTS IN
PORTUGAL, BUT THE BASIC PROGRAM ON WHICH THE SIX HAD
AGREED HAD CONTINUING RELEVANCE. HE (BRANDT) HAD RELUC-

TANTLY ACCEPTED THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE GROUP.

2. THE GENERAL OBJECTIVE OF THE SIX WAS TO HELP MOBILIZE DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN PORTUGAL TO ENABLE THEM TO DIRECT THE PROCESS OF CHANGE TAKING PLACE IN THAT COUNTRY IN A DESIRABLE DIRECTION. THEY HAD AGREED ON FOUR MAJOR TASKS TO BE UNDERTAKEN BY THOSE SOCIALIST PARTIES WHICH WERE BEST EQUIPPED TO BE USEFUL IN EACH CATEGORY. ACCORDING TO BRANDT, THESE FOUR AREAS OF ACTIVITY ARE:

A) ASSISTANCE TO THE SOCIALIST PARTY IN PORTUGAL IN ORGANIZING ITSELF FOR MAXIMUM EFFECTIVENESS. THIS WOULD INVOLVE BOTH ADVICE AND FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE PASSING THROUGH SOCIALIST CHANNELS. THE FRG AND THE NETHERLANDS WOULD ASSUME PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR THIS ACTIVITY. BRANDT NOTED IN PASSING THAT SOME SPD MONEY WAS ALSO GOING TO THE PPD THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF THE FRIEDRICH EBERT FOUNDATION. SOARES WAS AWARE OF THIS AND UNHAPPY ABOUT THE FACT, BUT HAD NOT SPECIFICALLY REQUESTED THAT SUCH ASSISTANCE BE TERMINATED.

B) A SECOND TARGET AREA WAS PUBLIC OPINION WITHIN PORTUGAL BUT ALSO WITHIN THE COUNTRIES OF WESTERN EUROPE WHERE MUCH MISUNDERSTANDING ABOUT THE SITUATION STILL EXISTED. BRANDT MENTIONED THAT, IF THE NEWSPAPER "REPUBLICA", WHICH WAS NOW IN DIRE FINANCIAL STRAITS UNDER WORKER MANAGEMENT, WERE RETURNED TO THE SOCIALIST PARTY, THEN THE SPD WOULD BE PREPARED TO ASSIST IN RETURNING IT TO SOLVENCY INCLUDING FINANCING A NEW PRINTING PLANT. BRANDT NOTED THAT TO SOARES THE RETURN OF "REPUBLICA" TO SOCIALIST CONTROL WOULD CONTINUE TO BE A MAJOR OBJECTIVE WHICH WOULD DETERMINE HIS ULTIMATE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE GOVERNMENT. IT APPEARED, BRANDT CONTINUED, THAT THE GDR HAD BEEN DESIGNATED ON THE EASTERN SIDE TO HAVE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR LEADING THE COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA FIGHT ON PORTUGAL, AND ONE COULD
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ALREADY NOTE A STEPPED-UP TREATMENT OF THIS SUBJECT IN THE GDR PRESS.

C) A THIRD OBJECTIVE WAS AN ENHANCED PROGRAM OF VISITOR EXCHANGE IN BOTH DIRECTIONS, WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON THE PORTUGUESE ARMED FORCES. THE UK, WHICH HAD MUCH EXPERIENCE IN SUCH EXCHANGES, WOULD ASSUME PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY ASSISTED BY THE FRG. ANOTHER TARGET GROUP FOR EXCHANGES WOULD BE THE MEMBERS OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WHO AFTER THEIR ELECTION HAVE FADED FROM PUBLIC VIEW.

D) THE FOURTH CATEGORY OF ACTIVITIES WOULD BE PROVISION OF ACTUAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE WHEN THE POLITICAL

SITUATION IN PORTUGAL BECAME A LITTLE CLEARER. APART FROM THE POTENTIAL AID BEING DISCUSSED IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, THERE WERE ALSO NON-MEMBER COUNTRIES SUCH AS SWEDEN, AUSTRIA, AND EVEN SWITZERLAND WHERE SOCIALIST INFLUENCE OR CONTROL OF THE GOVERNMENT COULD BE USED TO FACILITATE SUCH ASSISTANCE.

3. THE SIX PARTY LEADERS AGREED THAT THEY WOULD KEEP IN CLOSE TOUCH BY TELEPHONE IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN MAXIMUM FLEXIBILITY IN ADJUSTING TO THE CHANGING SITUATION IN PORTUGAL. NO FIRM DATE WAS SET FOR THEIR NEXT MEETING, ACCORDING TO BRANDT, BUT IF IT DID NOT TAKE PLACE IN OCTOBER, THEN IT CERTAINLY WOULD BE IN EARLY NOVEMBER. HOWEVER, HE STRESSED, THEY HAD NO TROUBLE IN GETTING IN TOUCH WITH EACH OTHER ON A DAILY BASIS IF NECESSARY.

4. ONE THING HE HAD NOTED, BRANDT RECOUNTED WITH SOME AMUSEMENT, WAS THAT IN BOTH THEIR MEETINGS SWEDISH PRIME MINISTER PALME SEEMED TO BE THE BEST INFORMED BY FAR ABOUT US INTENTIONS TOWARDS PORTUGAL. HE WAS ABLE TO CITE ACTUAL STATISTICS ABOUT INTENDED US AID. BRANDT COMMENTED THAT HE HAD BEEN IMPRESSED BY THE MODESTY OF THE PROPOSED FIGURES, BUT THOUGHT THAT SUCH PROGRAMS WERE MORE REALISTIC AND PRACTICAL THAN MORE GRANDIOSE SCHEMES.

5. TURNING NEXT TO THE SOARES VISIT TO THE FRG ON MON-
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DAY AND TUESDAY OF THIS WEEK, BRANDT OBSERVED THAT THERE WAS REALLY NO URGENT REASON FOR SUCH A VISIT AT THIS TIME. HOWEVER, THE PORTUGUESE SOCIALIST LEADER RECEIVED A GREAT DEAL OF FAVORABLE PUBLICITY AND HE WAS SURE THIS HELPED IN STRENGTHENING HIS IMAGE BOTH IN PORTUGAL AND IN OTHER COUNTRIES. BRANDT DESCRIBED SOARES AS AN EMOTIONAL MAN WHO DREW HIS IMPRESSIONS AND HIS STRENGTH FROM HIS CONTACTS WITH THE PEOPLE. HE WAS NOW IN AN OPTIMISTIC MOOD ABOUT PROSPECTS IN PORTUGAL, AN OPTIMISM WHICH BRANDT SAID HE DID NOT ENTIRELY SHARE, ALTHOUGH CERTAINLY THE SITUATION HAD CHANGED DECIDEDLY FOR THE BETTER. HE THOUGHT SOARES WAS WISE IN STAYING OUT OF THE AZEVEDO GOVERNMENT HIMSELF, BUT NOTED THAT WITH FOUR MINISTERS AND NINE STATE SECRETARIES (AS NOW SEEMED LIKELY TO BE THE SOCIALIST SHARE), HIS PARTY WOULD BE STRONGLY REPRESENTED. VDESPITE HIS OPTIMISM, SOARES HAD ADMITTED THAT THE PRESENT SITUATION WAS STILL BASICALLY UNSTABLE AND THAT THE REAL TEST WOULD COME IN FOUR OR FIVE MONTHS. VHE PLACED MUCH IMPORTANCE ON THE FEBRUARY ELECTIONS TO BE HELD FOR A LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY AS THE CRUCIAL DETERMINANT.

6. BRANDT WENT ON TO DESCRIBE THE INTERESTING CHANGE

WHICH HE HAD NOTED IN THE SOVIET APPROACH TO PORTUGAL STARTING ABOUT MID-AUGUST. PRIOR TO THAT TIME, INCLUDING DURING HIS JULY VISIT TO THE SOVIET UNION, THE SOVIET LEADERS HAD SIMPLY DISCLAIMED ALL RESPONSIBILITY FOR OR ANY INVOLVEMENT IN PORTUGUESE DEVELOPMENTS, EVEN THOUGH IT WAS QUITE CLEAR THAT THEY WERE HEAVILY SUBSI-

DIZING CUNHAL AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND FACILITATING THE FLOW OF ARMS TO THE PCP FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND THE GDR. BUT THEN, IN THE SECOND HALF OF AUGUST, THE SOVIETS BEGAN TO STRESS THE DANGER OF A RIGHT WING PUTSCH AND THE NEED FOR A COALITION GOVERNMENT WHILE LAMENTING THAT THE PCP UNDER CUNHAL HAD PUSHED TOO HARD AND TOO FAST. THIS NEW LINE HAD BEEN TAKEN BY SOVIET DIPLOMATS IN A NUMBER OF WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, INCLUDING MEMBERS OF THE SOVIET EMBASSY IN BONN, ALTHOUGH AMBASSADOR FALIN HIMSELF, NOW RETURNED FROM HIS HOLIDAY IN THE SOVIET UNION, HAD CONTINUED TO MAINTAIN SILENCE
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ON THE SUBJECT. PERHAPS THE MOST ELABORATE PRESENTATION OF THIS SOVIET LINE HAD BEEN TO FINNISH OFFICIALS AT THE TIME OF PRESIDENT KEKKONEN'S 75TH BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION. THE IMPLICATION WAS, OF COURSE, BRANDT ADDED, THAT SOVIET INFLUENCE COULD AFTER ALL PLAY A ROLE IN PORTUGAL IN THE SENSE OF REINING IN THE PCP. HE WOULD NOT HESITATE TO REPLY FRANKLY TO SUCH SOVIET APPROACHES.

7. BRANDT AGREED THAT WE SHOULD KEEP IN TOUCH AND THAT HE WOULD TAKE THE INITIATIVE IN BRINGING TO MY ATTENTION ANY SIGNIFICANT NEW DEVELOPMENTS CONCERNING THE GROUP OF SIX.

8. COMMENT. BRANDT IS OBVIOUSLY QUITE PLEASED THAT HIS EARLIER RELATIVELY OPTIMISTIC ESTIMATE OF THE POSSIBILITIES IN PORTUGAL HAS PROVED CORRECT--AT LEAST IN THE SHORT RUN-- BUT HE IS STILL HEDGING ON WHAT MIGHT HAPPEN IN THE FUTURE. ALTHOUGH HE DISCLAIMED ANY DESIRE TO PLAY A LEADING ROLE IN THE SOCIALIST EFFORT, HE GIVES THE IMPRESSION OF ENJOYING HIS VENTURE INTO INTRA-PARTY DIPLOMACY. THE FINANCIAL AND OTHER RESOURCES AVAILABLE TO THE SOCIALIST PARTIES OF WESTERN EUROPE ARE NOT INCONSIDERABLE, PARTICULARLY IN THOSE COUNTRIES WHERE SOCIALIST GOVERNMENTS ARE IN POWER AND WHERE A CERTAIN INTERLACING OF PARTY AND GOVERNMENTAL EFFORTS IS INEVITABLE.
HILLENBRAND UNQTE KISSINGER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 26 AUG 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SOCIALISM, PARTY LEADERS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, DEBRIEFINGS, POLITICAL SITUATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 20 SEP 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: WorrelSW
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975STATE225055
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: EUR/WE:EMROWELL
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: D750327-0405
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t197509105/baaaacel.tel
Line Count: 215
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: WorrelSW
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 12 MAY 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <12 MAY 2003 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <09 OCT 2003 by WorrelSW>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: n/a
TAGS: PFOR, GE, US, PO, (BRANDT, WILLY)
To: LISBON
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006